

Message Text

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EXDIS MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING REPEAT USNATO 6827 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ALL NATO

CAPITALS MADRID MBFR VIENNA MOSCOW SALT II GENEVA 11 DEC

QUOTE

S E C R E T USNATO 6827

EXDIS

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TAGS: MPOL, NATO, DPC

SUBJ: DPC MINISTERIAL MEETING DECEMBER 10, 1975: RESTRICTED SESSION

SUMMARY: SECRETARY RUMSFELD ASSURED MINISTERS OF HIS STRONG

SUPPORT FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE, AND STRESSED THAT DETENTE REQUIRES A STRONG MILITARY POSTURE. HE OUTLINED BRIEFLY THE STEADY GROWTH OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER IN RECENT YEARS, BUT STATED THAT AN DEQUATE CONVENTIONAL BALANCE IS WITHIN NATO'S REACH. SECRETARY RUMSFELD SAID THAT NATO NEEDS TO RESTORE POLITICAL AND MILITARY COHESION TO THE SOUTHERN FLANK, AND SUGGESTED THAT THE SITUATION IN SPAIN MAY NOW BE EVOLVING SO THAT NATO CAN EXPLORE WAYS OF DEVELOPING CLOSER COOPERATION WITH THAT COUNTRY. REGARDING RATIONALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION, HE SAID THAT PRESSURES ON BUDGETS AND REACTION AGAINST WASTE WERE PROVIDING THE IMPERATIVES FOR PROGRESS, AND THAT STANDARDIZATION MEANT SELECTION OF THE MOST COST EFFECTIVE WEAPONS AND SHARED PRODUCTION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. SECRETARY RUMSFELD ALSO SUMMARIZED FOR MINISTERS THE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN SALT. LEBER (FRG) SAID THAT THOUGH THERE WERE AMPLE REASONS FOR ALLIES TO BE CONCERNED, THERE HAD BEEN POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS AS WELL. RICHARDSON (CANADA) DISCUSSED BRIEFLY THE CANADIAN DEFENSE REVIEW. MASON (UK) TOLD HIS COLLEAGUES HE WOULD DO HIS BEST TO PROTECT THE UK'S NATO FORCES FROM FURTHER CUTS. ON MBFR, LEBER, MASON AND VREDELING (THE NETHERLANDS) STRESSED THE NEED FOR ALLIES TO HOLD FIRM ON THE COLLECTIVE COMMON CEILING. LEBER, MASON, AND VREDELING ALSO CAUTIONED AGAINST TRYING TO MOVE TOO FAST ON THE ISSUE OF SPAIN. END SUMMARY.

1. SYG LUNS OPENED THE RESTRICTED SESSION BY CALLING MINISTERS' ATTENTION TO HIS WRITTEN SUMMARY APPRAISAL. HE THEN OFFERED WHAT HE REFERRED TO AS SOME "LOOSE REMARKS." IN CHARACTERIZING THE 1975 DEFENSE REVIEW AS A FAILURE, LUNS SEEMED TO BE CHIDING THE US SOMEWHAT, IF ONLY INDIRECTLY. HE SAID HE HOPED THE 1976 REVIEW WOULD SHOW AN IMPROVEMENT OVER THE 1975 PERFORMANCE, AND INVITED THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE (CMC) TO COMMENT.

2. ALLUDING TO THE SYG'S SUMMARY APPRAISAL, THE CMC POINTED OUT THAT STABILITY IN FORWARD NATIONAL PROGRAMS IS A NECESSITY FOR MILITARY PLANS. HE SAID THE DEFENSE REVIEW IS AN ESSENTIAL DISCIPLINARY EXERCISE AND A NECESSARY PART OF NATO PLANNING SINCE INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL DECISIONS MUST TAKE ACCOUNT OF PLANS
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OF THEIR ALLIES.

3. SECRETARY RUMSFELD WAS THE FIRST MINISTER TO SPEAK. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE SYG'S SUMMARY APPRAISAL, BUT SAID HE COULD NOT COMMENT ON ITS SPECIFICS. HE ASSURED THE COMMITTEE OF HIS STRONG SUPPORT FOR EFFECTIVE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE AND POINTED OUT THAT THE POLICY OF DETENTE IS AN ARGUMENT FOR DEFENSE. SINCE DETENTE MEANS RELAXATION OF TENSIONS, THIS IMPLIES THAT TENSIONS DO EXIST. THESE TENSIONS POSE DANGERS FOR US ALL. EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSION MUST BE ROOTED IN A STRONG DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE. PRESIDENT FORD KNOWS THIS WELL. WE SEEK TO REDUCE CONFRONTATIONS; BUT WHERE EAST AND WEST ARE CONCERNED, WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT IN MANY OF THE MOST BASIC MATTERS WE ARE

FUNDAMENTALLY OPPOSED. DETENTE MUST INCLUDE AWARENESS OF THE NEED FOR ENOUGH MILITARY STRENGTH TO LEND WEIGHT TO OUR POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AS WELL AS TO DETER ADVENTURE OR OUTRIGHT AGGRESSION. OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS NEGOTIATE ON THIS BASIS, AND SECRETARY KISSINGER, WHO HAS ENJOYED SUCCESS IN NEGOTIATIONS, KNOWS THIS WELL. FOR EXAMPLE, SUCCESS IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS REQUIRES THERE BE NO UNILATERAL STEPS TO REDUCE CAPABILITIES AS NATO SEEKS STABILITY AT AGREED LOWER LEVELS. IN THE MEANTIME, WE SHOULD DO NOTHING TO UNDERMINE THE PROSPECTS OF THESE DISCUSSIONS, WHICH REDUCTIONS IN STRENGTH WOULD SURELY DO.

4. NEXT, SECRETARY RUMSFELD POINTED OUT THE STEADY GROWTH OF SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH IN RECENT YEARS, DURING THE PROCESS OF DETENTE. WE NOW ESTIMATE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE A MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF ABOUT 4.4 MILLION MEN, AND WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT IN RECENT YEARS THEY HAVE ADDED AT LEAST 100,000 MEN TO THEIR FORCES FACING WESTERN EUROPE. THEY ARE ADDING STILL MORE TANKS; THEY HAVE INCREASED THEIR ARTILLERY BY ABOUT ONE-THIRD IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS; THEY HAVE DEPLOYED A NEW ARRAY OF SURFACE-TO-AIR GUNS AND MISSILES; AND THEY HAVE INTRODUCED NEW HIGH-PERFORMANCE COMBAT AIRCRAFT. WITH THAT INCREASE IN WEAPONRY AT SOVIET DISPOSAL, WE MUST LOOK TO OUR OWN MILITARY POSTURE.

5. SECRETARY RUMSFELD RECOGNIZED THAT ALL NATO DEFENSE MINISTERS MUST COPE WITH OTHER, NON-DEFENSE PRESSURES ON NATIONAL BUDGETS, AS HE WOULD BE DOING IN WASHINGTON UPON HIS RETURN. HOWEVER, NATO
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MUST BE ABLE TO CONDUCT MILITARY OPERATIONS AT THE LOWEST LEVEL OF FORCE AND DAMAGE CONSISTENT WITH ACHIEVEMENT OF ITS OBJECTIVES. MILITARY STRENGTH IS SOMETIMES EQUATED WITH PROVOCATION, BUT MILITARY WEAKNESS CAN ALSO PROVOKE, PARTICULARLY CONVENTIONAL WEAKNESS IN AN ERA OF NUCLEAR EQUIVALENCY. DESPITE THE CONTINUED SOVIET BUILDUP, AN ADEQUATE CONVENTIONAL BALANCE IS WITHIN REACH, AS SECRETARY SCHLESINGER EMPHASIZED SEVERAL TIMES AT DPC MEETINGS.

6. SECRETARY RUMSFELD COMMENTED ON SEVERAL AREAS OF INTEREST, IN LIGHT OF THE FOREGOING.

- FIRST, WE MUST BE CONFIDENT THAT OUR MILITARY PROGRAMS AND PLANS ARE KEYED TO DETERRING AND DEALING WITH THE REAL THREAT. PROGRAMS THAT ARE MARGINAL TO THAT PURPOSE MUST BE ENDED.

- SECOND, WE MUST RESTORE POLITICAL AND MILITARY COHESION TO THE SOUTHERN FLANK. NO SINGLE NATION IN THE SOUTHERN REGION CAN DEFEND ITSELF ALONE; EACH REQUIRES THE ALLIANCE, AND WE MUST BE FRANK TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE ALLIANCE NEEDS EACH OF THEM. WE MUST MAKE SURE THAT OUR ALLIES ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK WORK TOGETHER AGAIN. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD NOTE THE CHANGES IN SPAIN. THE SITUATION MAY NOW BE EVOLVING SO THAT WE CAN

EXPLORE WAYS OF DEVELOPING CLOSER COOPERATION WITH SPAIN IN THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA.

- THIRD, REGARDING RATIONALIZATION, STANDARDIZATION, INTER-OPERABILITY, ETC., OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROGRESS ARE GREATER TODAY. PRESSURES ON DEFENSE BUDGETS, GROWING INTOLERANCE OF WASTE, THE GROWTH OF SOVIET CAPABILITIES, ALL GIVE INCENTIVE FOR PROGRESS ON ONE OF THE OLDEST ALLIANCE GOALS. DEFENSE MINISTERS MUST LOOK AHEAD SYSTEMATICALLY, AS MINISTER LEBER SUGGESTED THE PRECEDING DAY, TO DETERMINE COMMON NEEDS FOR MODERN WEAPONS AND TO DEVELOP A BASIS FOR SHARING IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF NEW WEAPONS. THIS MUST NOT MEAN CARTELIZATION AND HIGHER COSTS, BUT SELECTION OF THE MOST COST-EFFECTIVE WEAPONS AND SHARED PRODUCTION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

7. TURNING TO SALT, SECRETARY RUMSFELD POINTED OUT THAT TWO CONTENTIONS ISSUES FACED THE TWO SIDES AT THIS TIME -- THE BACKFIRE AND CRUISE MISSILE ISSUES. HE STATED HIS OWN BELIEF THAT, HOWEVER THE MATTER IS TO BE HANDLED, THE US HAS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT FIRST THE FACT THAT BACKFIRE EXISTS AND AFFECTS SOVIET
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CAPABILITIES AND, SECOND, THAT CRUISE MISSILES OF VARIOUS TYPES CONSTITUTE POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT WEAPONS SYSTEMS. THE TASK IS TO FIND A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE ARRANGEMENT FOR RESOLVING THESE ISSUES. BEYOND THESE TWO ISSUES, THERE ARE SEVERAL OTHER UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS, SUCH AS MIRV VERIFICATION, DEFINITION OF WHAT CONSTITUTES A HEAVY MISSILE, LAND-AND-AIR MOBILE ICBMS, AND THE PROBLEM OF FINDING WAYS TO LIMIT SOVIET THROW-WEIGHT. OUR VIEWS ON THESE ISSUES HAVE NOT CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THOSE WHICH AMBASSADOR JOHNSON OUTLINED TO THE NAC ON SEPTEMBER 12.

8. CONCLUDING, SECRETARY RUMSFELD SAID HE WAS MINDFUL THAT NATO'S PEOPLES ARE THE EMBODIMENT OF POLITICAL LIBERTY AND DECENCY IN THE WORLD. WE HAVE A SOLEMN OBLIGATION TO OURSELVES, OUR CITIZENS, AND IN FACT TO ALL MANKIND TO MAKE EVERY NECESSARY SACRIFICE TO PRESERVE FREEDOM. THERE MUST BE NO DOUBT AMONG US, OR IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, THAT THE CONTINUITY OF OUR POLICY CAN BE RELIED UPON BY FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE. THE STRENGTH OF THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BE DEDICATED TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE ALLIANCE; IN HIS VIEW, PRESERVATION OF THE TWO IS NOT SEPARABLE.

9. LEBER (FRG) SAID THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD BE CONCERNED BUT NOT PESSIMISTIC. PARLIAMENTS ARE DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH, OF COURSE, BUT THERE ARE POSITIVE POINTS AS WELL. THE IMPROVEMENTS IN WARSAW PACT CAPABILITY REPORTED BY SIR PETER THE PRECEDING DAY DID NOT MARK A "BLACK TUESDAY." LEBER POINTED OUT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT BREZHNEV, SPEAKING IN WARSAW THE PREVIOUS DAY, WAS REPORTED TO HAVE MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF THE WARSAW PACT BEING UNDERMINED. SO NATO'S OPPONENTS CONSIDER THEY HAVE PROBLEMS TOO. TURNING TO ANOTHER SUBJECT, LEBER INDICATED THAT GERMANY WAS

STARTING TO ENJOY SOME SUCCESS IN DEMONSTRATING TO YOUNG PEOPLE THE NEED FOR DEFENSE. THE YOUNG ARE PREOCCUPIED WITH CONSUMPTION; BUT CONSUMPTION, AT THE LEVEL THE WEST HAS KNOWN, CAN ONLY CONTINUE IF THE WEST IS SECURE. LEBER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ENERGY PROBLEMS, INFLATION, AND OTHER DIFFICULTIES ARE AFFECTING DEFENSE CAPABILITIES; HOWEVER, THE WEST IS ORGANIZING TO DEAL WITH THESE PROBLEMS AND THE KEY QUESTION IS TIME. HE ASKED IF THE DEMOCRACIES WOULD BE ABLE TO SUSTAIN A CONFRONTATION WITH THE CENTRALLY DIRECTED OTHER SIDE. UNFORTUNATELY, ALTHOUGH THE WEST HAS A LARGER GNP THAN THE EAST, WESTERN
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GOVERNMENTS MUST FIRST SATISFY CONSUMER NEEDS BEFORE ALLOCATING THE RESIDUE TO DEFENSE. WITH THE EAST, THE SITUATION IS THE REVERSE, AND DEFENSE GETS FIRST PRIORITY. LEBER ENJOINED HIS FELLOW MINISTERS TO BE FIRM AND STRESSED THAT ADEQUATE SECURITY IS THE PREREQUISITE TO ALL ELSE. A GOVERNMENT'S FIRST OBLIGATION IS TO PROVIDE FOR THE SAFETY OF ITS PEOPLE. RETURNING TO A THEME HE ENUNCIATED THE PRECEDING DAY, LEBER SAID THE WEST MUST ALSO BE ALERT TO THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT WITH THE EAST AND TAKE THE OFFENSIVE. THIS IS A MATTER THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL BE DISCUSSING AS WELL. TURNING TO MBFR, LEBER SAID HE EXPECTED OPTION III TO BE PLAYED OVER A LONG PERIOD. IF OPTION III FAILS, THEN THE ALLIES WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO USE MBFR AS AN ARGUMENT AGAINST UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS (NO UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS WHILE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ARE UNDERWAY). AT VIENNA, NATO WILL BE SEEKING THE REMOVAL OF A SOVIET TAK ARMY AS THE QUID FOR REDUCTION OF US TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SOME US SOLDIERS. THE ALLIANCE MUST BE WARY OF A SOVIET PLOY AIMED AT GERMAN ARMED FORCES, SINCE THE SOVIETS MAY FEEL THAT US WITHDRAWALS WOULD FOLLOW IN DUE COURSE ANYWAY. ON THE SUBJECT OF SPAIN, WHICH SECRETARY RUMSFELD HAD MENTIONED, LEBER SAID HE KNEW THAT THE US CONSIDERS THIS AN URGENT MATTER, BUT THE AMERICANS MUST REALIZE THAT THE EUROPEAN PSYCHOLOGY CALLS FIRST FOR SOME CONCRETE INDICATIONS OF POLITICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN SAPIN. LEBER SAID HE COULD UNDERSTAND WHY THE US FEELS DIFFERENTLY IN THIS MATTER.

10. RICHARDSON (CANADA) CALLED ATTENTION TO RECENT DECISIONS ON THE CANADIAN DEFENSE STRUCTURE REVIEW, POINTING OUT THAT THE EXPENDITURE OF \$950 MILLION FOR A FLEET OF AIRCRAFT WOULD CONSTITUTE CANADA'S LARGEST SINGLE DEFENSE PROGRAM EVER. HE SAID THAT HE HAD USED THE ARGUMENT OF THE OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL STABILITY TO CARRY THE DAY WITH HIS FELLOW MINISTERS IN THE GOC. HE HAD STRESSED THE PRIMACY OF DETERRING WAR, WHICH WAS AN ARGUMENT HIS FELLOW MINISTERS AND THE CANADIAN PUBLIC CAN UNDERSTAND AND APPRECIATE. HE AGREED WITH LEBER THAT YOUNG PEOPLE CAN BE PERSUADED OF THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

11. MASON (UK) SAID THAT HMG WAS ENGAGED IN A "PUBLIC EXPENDITURE EXERCISE" BROUGHT ON BY NOT ONLY THE "TOUCH OF

ECONOMIC FROST" MENTIONED BY SYG LUNS IN HIS SUMMARY APPRAISAL,
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BUT BY A "COLD ECONOMIC WIND," AS WELL. HE STATED THAT IF FURTHER CUTS FROM DEFENSE FUNDS PROVE NECESSARY, HE WILL DO HIS BEST TO PROTECT THE UK'S NATO FORCES; IF THE CUTS AFFECT NATO, HE WILL LET HIS COLLEAGUES KNOW. (COMMENT: MASON STOPPED SHORT OR PROMISING TO "CONSULT" WITH NATO. END COMMENT.) CONTINUING IN THE SAME VEIN, MASON SAID THAT WHEREAS SECRETARY RUMSFELD HAD SPOKEN AGAINST UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS WITHOUT QUALIFICATIONS, HE WOULD STRESS "FRONT LINE CAPABILITIES" AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF MBFR. LIKE SECRETARY RUMSFELD, HE COMMENDED THE ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY MANIFESTED THROUGHOUT THE MBFR EXERCISE AND HE ADDED THAT THE UK FAVORS PROGRESS IN MBFR, PROVIDED THERE IS NO DEGRADATION IN ALLIANCE SECURITY. CONCERNING OPTION III, MASON SAID THE ALLIES SHOULD CLEAR UP ALL AMBIGUITIES. THE ALLIANCE MUST STICK WITH THE COLLECTIVE COMMON CEILING AND REJECT NATIONAL CEILINGS AND SOVIET PRESSURES FOR CUTS IN THE BUNDESWEHR. ON ANOTHER SUBJECT, MASON POINTED OUT THAT, AS REFLECTED IN EUROPACKAGE 1975 (USNATO 6748), THE TOTAL DEFENSE EXPENDITURES OF THE EUROGROUP COUNTRIES IN 1975 INCREASED BY OVER \$5.5 BILLION. THIS IS MORE THAN SUFFICIENT TO COVER THE EFFECTS OF INFLATION. MASON WARNED HIS COLLEAGUES NOT TO "FEED THE ENEMY ON THE FOOD OF OUR OWN DESPONDENCY." NEXT, MASON REFERRED TO SECRETARY RUMSFELD'S REMARKS REGARDING SPAIN. IN MASON'S VIEW, THE ALLIANCE SHOULD WAIT A WHILE AND TREAD CAUTIOUSLY. HE SAID THAT THE "TIME IS NOT YET" TO ASK THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES FOR A MILITARY APPRAISAL OF SPAIN'S IMPORTANCE TO NATO. MASON'S CONCLUDING REMARKS CONCERNED STANDARDIZATION, AND HE POINTED TO LANCE, F-16, MILAN AND SIMILAR MULTILATERAL PROGRAMS AS EVIDENCE THAT THINGS WERE MOVING POSITIVELY IN THIS AREA. HE SAID THAT NATO NEEDS SECRETARY RUMSFELD'S HELP AND GUIDANCE SO THAT STANDARDIZATION AND INTEROPERABILITY CAN BE SPEEDED UP.

12. VREDELING (NETHERLANDS) REMINDED HIS COLLEAGUES OF THE STATEMENT BY SOLZHENITSYN TO THE EFFECT THAT "THE FREE MAN DOESN'T KNOW THE VALUE OF THINGS." OUR PROBLEM, HE SAID, IS THAT OUR YOUNG PEOPLE DON'T KNOW THE VALUE OF THINGS AND THEY TAKE FREEDOM FOR GRANTED. VREDELING AGREED WITH LEBER THAT IN MBFR, THE SOVIETS ARE ZEROING IN ON THE BUNDESWEHR. TO RESPOND TO SOVIET PRESSURE, THE ALLIANCE MUST NOT YIELD ON THE COLLECTIVE COMMON CEILING; HOW NATO ORGANIZES FOR DEFENSE IS NONE OF THE EAST'S BUSINESS. ON THE SUBJECT OF STANDARDIZATION, VREDELING
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SAID THAT THE EUROPEANS MUST PUT THEIR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER IN ARMAMENTS COOPERATION, WITHIN THE LARGER FRAMEWORK OF THE ALLIANCE. HE ECHOED LEBER'S REMARKS ON SPAIN, EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR CAUTION. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE ALLIANCE CANNOT

LOGICALLY EXPOUND AN IDEOLOGY OF FREEDOM AND THEN IN THE NEXT
BREATH SPEAK OF COOPERATION WITH SPAIN.

13. SYG LUNS REMINDED MINISTERS OF THE DIFFICULTIES THAT AROSE
DURING LAST MAY'S DPC MINISTERIAL MEETING WHEN INFORMATION THAT
NATO WAS DISCUSSING SPAIN IN RESTRICTED SESSION LEAKED TO THE
NEWS MEDIA. HE URGED THAT THERE BE NO MENTION OF SPAIN TO NEWS
REPRESENTATIVES SINCE THIS WOULD INEVITABLY EXPOSE DIFFERENCES IN
THE ALLIANCE AND BECAUSE THE SENSATIONAL ASPECT OF THE SUBJECT
TENDS TO CAUSE IT TO OCCUPY TOO PROMINENT A PLACE IN MEDIA
REPORTING OF THE MINISTERIAL SESSION.

14. ADMIRAL HILL-NORTON, IN THE FINAL INTERVENTION IN RESTRICTED
SESSION, TOLD MINISTERS THAT ALTHOUGH MILITARY LEADERS'
REQUIREMENTS ARE DESIGNED TO CARRY OUT THE ALLIANCE STRATEGY,
IN PRACTICE THE ALLIANCE IS BUYING TIME, TIME FOR THE CONDUCT OF
NEGOTIATIONS BELOW THE NUCLEAR THRESHOLD. IF CAPABILITIES
CONTINUALLY DIMINISH, THE ALLIANCE WILL HAVE LESS TIME;
INDEED, SINCE THE SOVIETS ARE INCREASING THEIR CAPABILITIES,
THE ALLIANCE IS LOSING TIME. "TIME, REAL ESTATE, AND OCEAN
AREAS ARE ALL THAT GIVES US BREATHING SPACE BELOW THE NUCLEAR
THRESHOLD. BRUCE
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